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AUTHOR Proctor, Adele; And Others
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ABSTRACT

A study was undertaken in an effort to develop techniques for monolingual speech pathologists in the Boston public schools to assess whether language behavior of Cape Verdean immigrants is due to language learning disabilities or simply to language differences. The following three questions were addressed: (1) What are some of the differences between Cape Verdean Creole and English? (2) Are these differences reflected in traditional speech and language tests? and (3) Will presentation of tests in English and Creole enhance the child's performance? A native speaker of Creole provided information about the Cape Verdean culture and translated the Test for Auditory Comprehension of Language, which was then administered to a small group of native Creole-speaking immigrant children, some of whom were language-disabled, and the results were compared with a series of predictions. The findings suggest that this test is a viable clinical procedure for monolingual examiners assessing language performance of nonnative English speaking children, and are being used to establish more appropriate levels of expectation for the performance of Cape Verdean Creole speaking children on the test. The specific language differences between English and Creole that were identified are generalized to other types of tests in the educational setting. (MSE)

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From English to Creole: Assessing Language Difference and Language Disorder.

Adele Proctor and Ann Mc Laughlin, Northeastern University, Boston, MA 02115 and John Hutchinson, Boston University. U.S.A.

Presented at The Third International Congress for the Study of Child Language, July 8-13, 1984, Austin, Texas.

Introduction:

There are 10 islands and 5 islets that constitute the independent country of Cape Verde (Republica Cabo de Verde). Cape Verde is located in the Atlantic ocean about 400 miles west of Senegal, Africa. Figure 1 displays the country and its geographical location relative to the African continent.

Figure 1 About Here

Immigration of Cape Verdeans to the U.S. is reported to have occurred as early as the 1850s and, under current economic conditions in the country, it is estimated that as many as 1200 Cape Verdeans per year may legally emigrate to the U.S. (The Boston Globe, 1983). Because of strong family ties, the majority of Cape Verdean people tend to emigrate to the New England area, predominantly greater Boston and Rhode Island.

The official language of the country is Portuguese, but most of the people speak Creole (Crioulo). Creole is an oral language and reportedly has no accompanying written symbol system. This oral language appears to be be derived from Portuguese and a combination of African languages, however,

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it is unclear which African languages. Macedo (1979) states:

> Although the Capeverdean language has been in existence for at least four centuries, it has been the subject of little and sporadic scientific research. The lack of interest in the Capeverdean language is obviously a reflection of the social stigma attached to it. By and large, Portuguese and Capeverdean scholars have treated the Capeverdean tongue as a dialect of Portuguese not worthy of scientific study (p. 84).

In the Cape Verdean islands, children initially learn Creole at home and are taught to read and write in Portuguese upon entering school. When families emigrate to the U.S., children are then exposed to variations of English. This means that the Cape Verdean child may be expected, by family and community, to begin communicating in the majority language, English. For the child with a speech, language and/or learning disability, this can be a traumatic experience. The language learning disabled child will clearly encounter difficulty in the native language, Crioulo, and attempts to learn and use English result in additional educational problems for the child, for the family and for educators.

Acquiring proficiency in English may be less difficult for the Cape Verdean child who has no language learning disability. However, cultural patterns governing when children speak, how children speak and to whom strongly influence the normal child's frequency of language use. It is reported that parents of Cape Verdean children expect the child to listen, to be quiet and to be obedient in school. So, regardless of English proficiency, Cape Verdean children may be reluctant to address authority figures, e.g., teachers. Because of the child's reluctance to speak, despite the fact that their teachers may be Cape Verdean, there are problems in obtaining representative language

samples for assessing linguistic performance.

Currently, the Boston public schools enroll a significant number of children whose primary language is not English. These children have as their primary languages, among others, Vietnamese, Laotian, Chinese, Greek, Italian, Haitian Creole, Portuguese, Spanish and Cape Verdean Creole. Figure 2 shows the range of different languages spoken by families of children in the Boston public schools.

Figure 2 About Here

Since the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association (1983) estimates that 1 out of every 20 people experiences a communication disorder, it is reasonable to assume that, with the number of bilingual children present in the public schools, there are children with unidentified problems in their primary language. As such, there is a need for the monolingual speech-language pathologist (speech therapist) to develop methods of assessing these children to distinguish language differences from language disorder.

To determine whether or not the Cape Verdean child is acquiring language(s) normally, the monolingual speech-language pathologist is expected to assess and recommend, in cooperation with other educators, appropriate educational placement and/or language treatment programs. Although aware professionals recognize the need to evaluate the child in the native language, we are confronted with many questions in addition to not speaking the child's native tongue. Some of the questions are: (1) do we assess only in Creole; (2) do we assess in Portuguese only; (3) do we assess a combination of Creole and Portuguese; (4) how do we draw associations between oral and written language; (5) do we

assess a combination of Creole, Portuguese and English; (6) which is the better approach to assess proficiency in English; (7) what should our expectations be for performance in the primary language, in English; (8) what should our expectations be for written versus oral language; (9) considering cultural differences in child rearing practices, can we apply similar performance guidelines as used with other bilingual children, e.g., the Hispanic child; (10) should we apply performance guidelines that are used with children who speak variations of English; (11) what are the most appropriate ways of using interpreters; (12) should we train interpreters on objectives of speech and language tests to avoid literal interpretations; (13) should we use literal interpretations to gain maximum information about language differences represented on speech and language tests; (14) how do we verify the accuracy of what interpreters provide us; (15) how do we obtain a sufficient number of reliable interpreters during school time to meet the needs of all the children?

Our list of questions is more extensive, because the Cape Verdean child is enrolled in school systems that must meet the needs of children who are native speakers of many other languages. To begin to address a very small part of this massive educational problem, we decided to ask three specific questions to initiate an exploratory study of how we might plan more effectively for differentiating language disorder and language difference.

Specific Questions:

The questions were: (1) what are some of the differences between Cape Verdean Creole and English; (2) are these differences reflected in traditional speech and language tests and; (3) will presentation of tests in English and Creole enhance the child's performance?

To begin to answer the questions, we asked an adult informant, a native speaker of Creole and an educator, Maria Macedo, to provide us information about the culture and to translate a frequently used clinical tool, The Test for Auditory Comprehension of Language (TACL) (Carrow, 1973). For purposes of validation, additional linguistic information was obtained on English-Creole differences from a linguist familiar with Creole.

Procedure and Method:

The Test: The TACL consists of 101 plates of line drawings and pictures that represent referential categories and contrasts that can be signaled by form classes and functions. Each plate has three pictures. One picture is the item to be tested and the other two are contrasts or foil items. The test protocol requires the examiner to verbalize a word or sentence and the child is asked to point to the appropriate picture in the set of three on the page. The child's responses are recorded on a standard score sheet yielding a raw score that can be converted to an age equivalency score, percentile rank, mean for age score and standard deviation. The child's errors can be organized by linguistic categories such as form classes and function words, morphological constructions, grammatical categories incorporating contrasts of case, number, gender, tense or status, syntactic structures such as predicates, modifiers and complementation and single word vocabulary organized in a developmental sequence.

The Translation Process: Translating the TACL involved several steps. The steps were as follows:

1. The translator was given the test to familiarize herself with the instrument.
2. The translator verified her interpretation with other Creole speakers.
3. The translator made written notations of differences between English and Creole found on the TACL.
4. The translator recorded each English item on an audio cassette, paused and recorded the Creole translation for each item on the same tape.
5. The translator reviewed the test, item by item, with the second author.
6. Based on the item by item review of English-Creole differences found on the TACL, a checklist of similarities and differences was generated.
7. To verify the translation, the recorded version of the TACL was administered to a linguist knowledgeable about Creole.
8. After step 7, final modifications were made to the checklist concerning all possible English-Creole differences observed as a result of the translation process. Table 1 illustrates some of the differences found between English and Creole for The Test for Auditory Comprehension of Language.

Table 1 About Here

Rationale for Test Selection and Translation Process: The TACL was selected because it has been translated for other children, between 3 and 7 years, who are non-native English speakers and variations of English were considered in its standardization sample. From the translation of the TACL, we believed we could obtain some specific data on selected aspects of language difference

that would assist in predicting where language normal Creole speaking children would exhibit difficulty in understanding English. Moreover, through the use of the translation process, we believed that we could identify possible reasons for why normal children might display certain types of linguistic differences. We were also interested in documenting the significance of providing the maximum amount of information to Creole speaking children when testing language. That is, clinical observation had suggested that the Cape Verdean children seemed to need both English and Creole in order to achieve maximum performance on such a standardized language test. In addition, a standardized test was chosen, because the Creole speaking child is reluctant to talk in formal educational settings and attempts to obtain language samples were proving to be a trying task for both child and clinician. That is, the clinician had observed a higher frequency, and a different quality, of verbal discourse when children were in peer-peer interaction than when in interaction with her or other teachers. This suggested that scores on language understanding and production obtained in the formal setting were probably not accurate measures of the children's language knowledge. Finally, because we are monolingual English speakers, we chose a structured test that would guide us in developing our own understanding of English-Creole differences. Subsequently, we believed that information of this nature would direct us in improving interpretations of Creole speaking children's test results and direct us in more appropriate identification of which linguistic features are to be expected as errors on such tests.

Predictions: Based on the translation process, several predictions were made relative to errors expected of language normal Creole speaking children on the TACL. The predictions were as follows:

1. Cross cultural differences may be reflected in the lexicon. That is,

some words are unigue to English, e.g., football, baseball, basketball, and children will understand these concepts in English, but not necessarily in Creole.

2. Similarly, some words will be understood when presented in Creole, but not necessarily when presented in English.
3. Some lexical items will be totally unfamiliar to the child and will not be understood when presented in English or Creole.
4. Cross cultural differences will be reflected in visual representations. That is, illustrations representing a familiar word, e.g., fast, will be more reflective of western culture and will cause the child to err.
5. Because of morphological and syntactical differences between English and Creole, as items become more complex, the child will rely more on Creole to identify the appropriate picture.
6. Specific errors on morphological and syntactical constructions will be reflections of language difference. This means that where we identify more than half the children making an error, we are observing language difference operating as a strong factor in the child's performance.
7. Language normal Creole speaking children may exhibit depressed scores in English or in Creole, but may approach age appropriate levels when given an opportunity to take the test in English and in Creole. This would occur, because the child will have learned some concepts in English and others in Creole. (Refer to Predictions 1 and 2).
8. If these predictions are verified, we will have established a baseline from which to make some generalizations about performance of other Creole speaking children.

Test Administration: After identifying linguistic differences between English and Creole through the translation process, a final audio recording was made for administration to subjects. The same adult informant recorded both versions. The standard score sheet was revised to account for responses to English only (E), Creole only (C) and English-Creole (EC). Instructions were verbally presented to each child by the same speech-language pathologist and children were given as many trials as needed until they indicated that they understood the task. The prerecorded tape was presented to all subjects under similar physical conditions and their responses were recorded on the revised score sheet.

The English only version of the test was presented first to determine which items the children could identify in English. One-two weeks later, the English-Creole version of the tape was presented to the same children. For the EC version of the tape, a response was recorded for English if the child pointed immediately to the picture and a response was recorded for Creole if the child waited to hear the Creole before responding or corrected the English response.

Subjects: Overall, 25 children participated in this exploratory study. However, data are presented for 13 language normal children and 2 language impaired children. Children were identified by Creole speaking teachers or teacher aides as normal language learners and as impaired language learners and predominantly selected from English-Creole transition classes required by the state of Massachusetts. For the normal group, there were 8 males and 5 females ranging in age from 5.11 to 8.1 years with a mean age of 6.9 years. All subjects had lived in the U.S. one year or less and only one child spoke English at home. All others spoke only Creole at home. The language impaired children for whom usable data were collected were 9 and 10 years old and were exhibiting extreme difficulty in their transition English-Creole classes.

Data Analysis and Results:

Age equivalency scores were calculated for English only (E) and compared with age equivalency scores for English-Creole (EC). Table 2 shows results of age equivalency scores for E and EC for normal language learners. The table also displays calculations for language delay (measured in months) for E and EC age equivalency scores for the same children.

As can be seen from Table 2, if we accepted the English only presentation as valid, 12 of the 13 children judged as normal language learners by their teachers would be considered language delayed. For English only, 12 of the 13 exhibited an average delay of 36 months. However, when the same children were allowed to hear both English and Creole before responding, EC version, the average delay for the group was 18 months. The child who used English at home was the one who consistently scored above his age level on the E and the E-C versions of the test. While some of this child's performance may be related to knowledge of the language, clearly, some portion of his performance is related to cognitive abilities. This child's score was not included in the averages for the group for E or E-C. From observation of individual scores, it can also be seen that when children were allowed to hear both English and Creole, several approached or surpassed the equivalency scores expected for their chronological ages. For those who did less well, we had a clearer picture of what individual and group English language lessons should contain relative to content and form.

To determine if there was a significant difference, a T test with paired observation was applied to the data for the first 8 subjects judged by their teachers to be normal language learners. To calculate, each subject's score on the English only presentation was rated as number correct (raw score) and

compared to the number correct for the English-Creole version of the test, i.e., raw scores. Table 3 shows results of the T test with paired observations for the first 8 language normal subjects. The computed value of t was significant at the .05 level. This suggests that the language normal subjects improved their scores on a language comprehension task when allowed to hear their native language, Crioulo, and English.

Although attempts were made to conduct similar testing on children suspected to have a language disorder, useable data was obtained on only two subjects. Problems in testing these children included difficulty in understanding the directions for taking the test, even when given in Creole, and maintaining attention for a long enough time to complete the task. Table 4 presents age equivalency scores for two language impaired children. Essentially, for these subjects, we see a similar trend as found with language normal children, i.e., scores improved when they were allowed to hear the E-C version of the tape. However, for E and E-C versions, both children continue to exhibit a greater delay for E-C than found for even the lower scoring children discussed in Table 3.

Table 5 presents a list of the the most frequently found errors for the language normal children and suggests that most of our predictions were verified. That is, some illustrations, or visual representations, are culture specific and may cause the child to misinterpret the pictures. More importantly, grammatical differences found between English and Cape Verdean Creole, for specific structures measured by The Test For Auditory Comprehension of Language, appear to account for a high proportion of the errors made by language normal children.

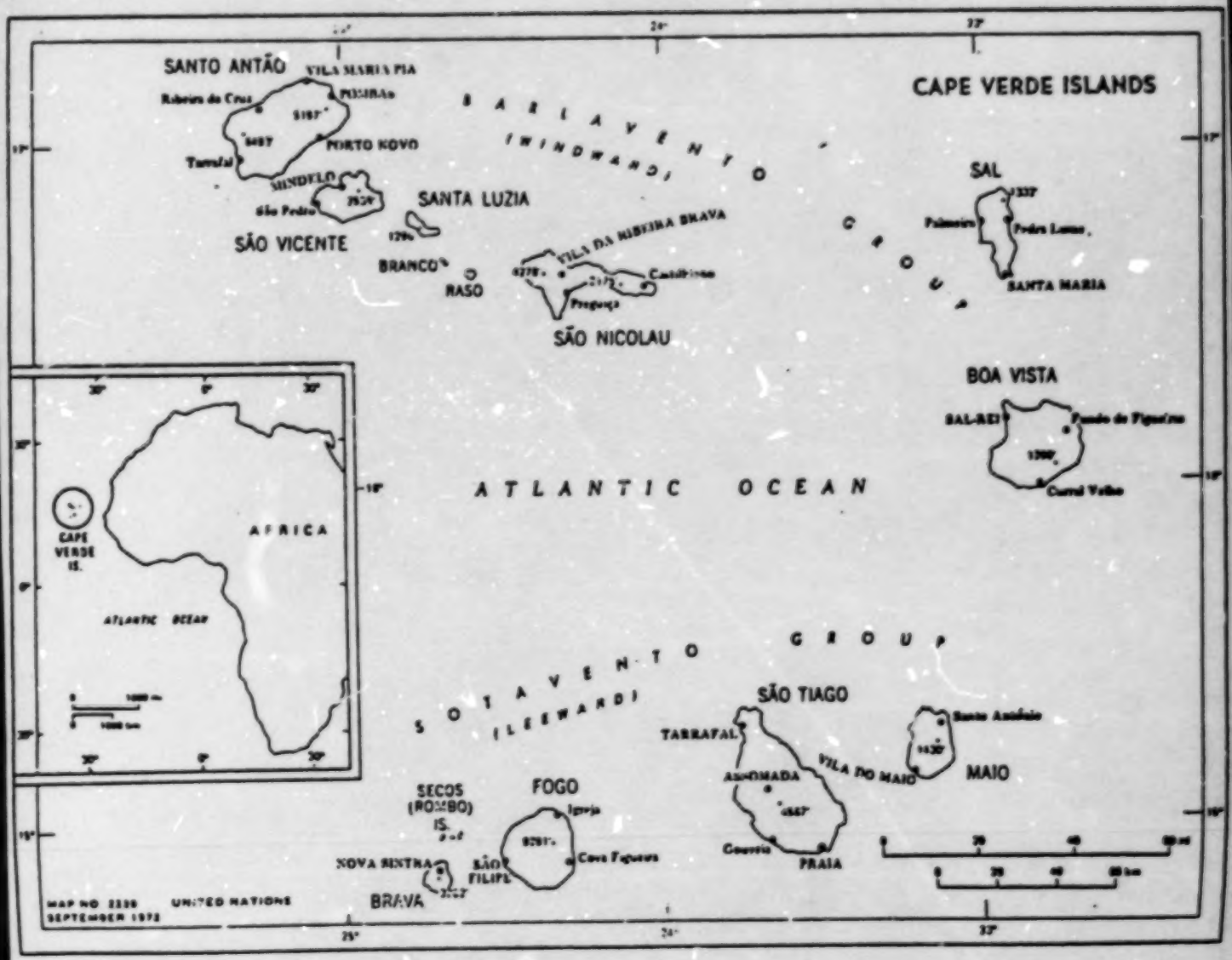
Discussion:

Since the overall purpose of this exploratory research was to design a simple procedure for approaching the task of distinguishing language difference and language disorder, we have, to some degree, achieved this goal. Information acquired thus far has aided monolingual English speaking speech-language pathologists in establishing more appropriate levels of expectation for Cape Verdean Creole speaking children when administering a frequently used clinical test, The Test For Auditory Comprehension of Language. Information gained as a result of the translation process and by using a prerecorded tape to administer the test suggests that this is a viable clinical procedure for other monolingual examiners who are asked to measure language performance of non-native English speaking children.

The specific linguistic differences identified between English and Creole on one standardized language test have been generalized in the educational setting to other types of tests designed to assess similar or related structures in both receptive and expressive language, thereby, increasing clinical efficiency and accuracy. Identification of specific linguistic differences such as those cited in Tables 1 and 5 has aided clinicians during consultations with classroom teachers and other resource room professionals. Further, these data have assisted in designing more appropriate individual and group language lessons for children who exhibit a language difference and/or a language disorder.

Relative to the three specific questions that guided the completion of this research, we have identified some of the linguistic differences between English and Creole while giving careful consideration to cultural factors that might be reflected in the language when looking at test score results. In addition, specific linguistic differences found on one standardized test allowed us a means of accounting for both the number and proportion of

errors observed when interpreting test results of children judged to be normal language learners by their teachers. Although not shown in this paper, subjects improved their scores when they heard the Creole only version of the tape as opposed to the English only presentation. Most importantly, we found a significant difference in subject scores when they were permitted to hear both their native language and English. For us, this strongly suggests the need for the monolingual examiner to present both the native language and English when testing language behavior of non-native English speaking children. This can be achieved by simply identifying an adult informant familiar with the language and the culture and asking that person to translate those tests used most often in assessing language. Verification of the translation may be obtained through consultation with other speakers of the particular language or through written consultation with a linguist known to be familiar with the particular language. The translation should be tape recorded and all children tested thereafter would be evaluated against a standard recording. While there are criticisms regarding extensive use of tape recordings, this procedure exceeds 'not knowing what to do.' Finally, the examiner's interpersonal skills will help the child feel comfortable about the task.



Source: Macedo, D. P. A Linguistic Approach to the Cape Verdean Language. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Boston University, 1979.

Figure 1

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Bostonians: *Where they come from*

Single-ancestry group	
Austrian	716
Basque	7
Belgian	128
Danish	292
Dutch	809
English	24,077
Welsh	299
Scottish	4041
Finnish	403
French	6136
German	8390
Greek	5950
Irish	92,107
Italian	48,392
Norwegian	528
Portuguese	
Azorean	82
Madeiran	36
Portuguese	3626
Swedish	1710
Swiss	223
(Other Scandinavian	215
(Other) European	185
Other Western European	110
Other Northern European	92
Other Southern European	15
Eastern and Central Europe (including Russia)	
Albanian	464
Czechoslovakian	376
Slovak	80
Hungarian	768
Latvian	570
Lithuanian	3163
Polish	8630
Romanian	380
Croatian	45
Yugoslavian	130
Russian	8488
Armenian	1276
Georgian	7
Ruthenian	18
Ukranian	1298
Slavic	30
Gypsy	110
Other Eastern European	348
Central European	7
Spanish categories	
Central and South American	6114
Other Spanish	20,284
Caribbean, Central, and South America	
Haitian	3060
Jamaican	3400
US Virgin Islanders	34
Trinidadian and Tobagoans	1155
Bahamian and Cayman, etc.	1344
French West Indian	17
Guyanese	216
Other Caribbean, Central, and South American	3175
Brazilian	191
North Africa (including Sudan)	
Egyptian	125
Moroccan	17
Algerian and Libyan, etc.	64
Other North African	21
Southwest Asia	
Iraqi	22
Jordanian	42
Lebanese	2266
Saudi Arabian	31
Syrian	860
Palestinian	40
Arabian	222
Other Southwest Asian	6
Iranian	801
Israeli	207
Turkish	108
West Africa	
Cape Verdean	2304
Ghanian	32
Liberian	60
Nigerian	347
Other West African	73
South Africa	
South African	59
East Africa	
Ethiopian	141
Kenyan	8
Other East African	18
(Other) African	1581
Other Asia	
Chinese	10,618
Taiwanese	16
Filipino	537
Japanese	604
Korean	433
Vietnamese	564
Asian Indian	903
Pakistani	102
Cambodian	10
Indonesian	13
Laotian	251
Thai	163
Ceylonese and Burmese	182
All other Asian	7
Pacific	
Australian	26
New Zealander	12
Hawaiian	37
Fijian and New Guinean	30
North America	
Afro-American	81,244
Canadian	2453
French Canadian	2247
Other North American	63
American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut	1486
Multiple-ancestry group	
American Indian-English-French	59
American Indian-English-German	52
American Indian-English-Irish	110
American-Indian-German-Irish	59
Dutch-French-Irish	11
Dutch-German-Irish	76
Dutch-Irish-Scotch	77
English-French-German	387
English-French-Irish	1065
English-German-Irish	1249
English-German-Swedish	62
English-Irish-Scotch	1553
English-Scotch	33
French-German-Irish	484
German-Irish-Italian	411
German-Irish-Scotch	315
German-Irish-Swedish	48
Two-origin multiple ancestry	105,484
Ancestry not specified	76,273
Total	562,994

1980 Census Table PA-15, Summary Tape File 4, provided by Data Use and Access Laboratories, Arlington, Virginia

THE NEW

BOSTONIANS

BY DAVID MEHEGAN

From The Boston Globe, 1/29/84

(For international readers, 'The Globe' is a daily newspaper published in the U.S.A.).

Figure 2

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Table 1. Primary English-Creole Differences as Determined by the Translation of The Test For Auditory Comprehension of Language (TACL)

I. Lexical Items

A. A Creole word exists for all words except 'farm.'

B. Creole words exist for all of the adjective items.

C. Creole words exist for all of the verbs; the English morpheme -ing is comparable to /stʌ / preceding the verb.

D. In Creole, there is no comparable structure for -ly.

II. Morphological Items

A. Different rules apply for forming the words 'painter,' 'hitter' and 'fisherman.' The Creole suffix -or is comparable to the English suffix -er for the words 'painter' and 'fisherman.' The word 'hitter' is literally translated as 'one who hits.'

B. In Creole, the comparative is formed by preceding the adjective with the word 'more' while the superlative is formed by preceding the adjective with the words ' the most _____ of all.'

C. The suffix -ist has a comparable suffix /ista/.

D. In Creole, number is indicated by preceding the noun with a specific number or by the word 'many,' /ʧeo/.

E. Creole has comparable morphemes for the demonstratives. The pronouns 'he' and 'she' are not distinct in Creole. The pronoun /ɛ/ / is used for both and is understood by the context. The pronoun /sɛ / is used for both 'his' and 'her.' Distinct pronouns do exist for number with regards to pronouns.

F. No structures exist in Creole which are comparable to 'is' and 'are' auxilliary forms.

G. Present progressive is indicated by /stʌ / preceding the verb. Regular past tense is indicated by accent on the last syllable of the verb. The prefix /dʒʌ / before the verb is comparable to 'has.' In Creole, /kʌ / precedes the verb to indicate negation. There is no passive structure in Creole. The word /bazi / is literally translated as 'is going to' precedes the verb to denote future.

H. There are comparable structures for the prepositions 'in,' 'on,' 'under,' 'at the side of' and 'in front of.'

I. Interrogative is formed as in English.

Table 1. Primary English-Creole Differences (cont'd)

III. Syntactical Items

A. Simple imperative is comparable to English

B. No structure exists for noun-verb agreement.

C. Word order in Creole is the same as regards the dependent adjectival clause following the independent clause.

D. Word order is the same as in English for complex sentences.

E. In Creole, the order is noun-adjective (color)-adjective(size).

Table 2. Age Equivalency Scores for the TACL : Comparison of English Only and English-Creole

Subject	Sex	Chronological Age (in yrs. & mos,)	Age Equivalency Score ENGLISH ONLY (in yrs. & mos.)	Language Delay ENGLISH ONLY (in mos.)	Age Equivalency Score ENGLISH-CREOLE (in yrs. & mos.)	Language Delay ENGLISH-CREOLE (in mos.)
S1	M	6.6	4.11	19	6.1	5
S2	M	6.5	< 3.0	41	5.7	10
S3*	M	5.11	6.2	no delay	6.2	no delay
S4	F	7.0	3.2	46	5.4	20
S5	F	6.10	< 3.0	46	4.2	32
S6	M	6.1	3.2	35	6.1	0
S7	F	8.1	6.4	26	6.10	20
S8	M	8.1	3.6	55	4.1	48
S9	F	6.9	3.7	38	4.1	32
S10	M	6.11	5.5	18	6.3	8
S11	F	7.5	3.11	42	6.2	15
S12	M	7.8	5.3	29	6.10	10
S13	M	7.9	5.7	26	6.5	16
				$\bar{X}$ = 36 mos. delay for 12 subjects		$\bar{X}$ =18 mos. delay for 12 subjects

*speaks English at home

e 3. T Test with Paired Observations (N=8)

Subject	English TACL	English-Creole TACL
S1	76	83
S2	56	90
S3	81	84
S4	72	78
S5	64	72
S6	63	76
S7	63	63
S8	65	69
	$\bar{X}$ = 67.5	$\bar{X}$ = 77

t=2.51

tabular t, d.f. 7, at .05 = 2.365

tabular t, d.f. 7, at .01 = 3.499 two tailed test

able 4. Age Equivalency Scores for TACL: Language Impaired Children

N= 2; 1 male & 1 female

ubject	Sex	Age	Age Equivalency Score ENGLISH ONLY	Language Delay (in mos.)	Age Equivalency Score English/Creole	Language Delay (in mos.)
S14	M	10.0	< 3.0	84 mos.	3.6	78 mos.
S15	F	9.0	< 3.0	72 mos	3.11	61 mos

Table 5. Frequency of Errors on TACL Relative to English-Creole Differences (3 or more children erred on English presentation) N=13

Grammatical Structure	Test No. and Item	No. S's Incorrect	Possible Cause of Error
1. NOUNS			
	10. pair	10	-related to visual dimensions/ illustrations
	29. half	5	
	30. Here is a star. Now point to the bottle on the left.	11	
2. ADJECTIVES			-Culture specific?
	15. fast	6	-illustration for 15 & 17, e.g., picture of
	17. soft	5	pillow for soft; African pillows are to sit on
	18. tall	6	
	19. Show me the two that are alike.	6	-18-17- related to comparative -superlative differences and singular-plural differentiation
	20. These two are different	9	
	21. some	5	
	22. few	7	
3. Adverbs	40. easily	6	- no -ly in Creole
	41. gently	11	-illustration?
4. N+V+ADJ+ Derivational Suffix -er	50. farmer	8	-no Creole word for farmer
5. N+Derivational Suffix -er + Masculine Suffix	53. fisherman	6	- culture specific? Cape Verdean fisherman dresses differently from U.S. fisherman
6. N + Derivational Suffix -ist	57. bicyclist	12	- vocabulary and no Creole structure for -ist
	58. pianist	12	

Table 5. Continued

Grammatical Structure	Test No. and Item	No. S's Incorrect	Possible Cause of Error
7. NOUN			
Number	66. chairs	9	- In Creole, number indicated by using specific number preceding noun or by the word many /tʃaɑ/ preceding noun
	67. balls (Probably learned in English)	3	
	68. coats	4	
8. DEMONSTRATIVE	43. these	7	-illustration? Creole for comparable morphemes exist
9. PRONOUNS			
Number and Gender	59. they	4	- No gender distinction in Creole
	60. he	7	- 'El' is used for both 'he' and 'she' and understood by context
	61. she	6	
	62. Mother gave the ball to her.	5	- 'Se' is used for both 'his' and 'her'
	63. His puppy is black and white.	8	
	65. We're eating apples.	4	
10. VERBS			
Number	70. The sheep is eating.	8	- no Creole structures comparable to 'is' and 'are'
	71. The fish are eating.	5	- cannot differentiate singular and plural in Creole by using 'is' and 'are'
11. VERBS			
Tense	64. She is going shopping.	6	- present progressive indicated by /stɑ/ preceding the verb
	74. The man painted the house.	4	
	75. The lion has eaten.	11	- regular past tense is indicated by accent on last syllable of verb
	76. He will hit the ball.	11	
	77. The man has been cutting trees.	12	- the prefix /dʒʌ/ before the verb is comparable to 'has'
Voice	80. The donkey is carried by the man.	5	- no passive structure in Creole
	81. The boy is chased by the dog	9	- the word /bai/ precedes verb to denote future
			- all verbs on test based in 'to give'

Table 5. Continued

Grammatical Structure	Test No. and Item	No. S's Incorrect	Possible Cause of Error
VERBS Status	87. The girls isn't running. 88. Neither the girl nor the boy is jumping.	7 9	- the Creole word /kA/ precedes the verb to indicate negation
12. PREPOSITIONS	45. under the table 48. The cat is between the cars.	7 5	-No comparable Creole structures for prepositions
13. INTERROGATIVES	83. When do you sleep?	6	-illustration? In Creole, interrogative formed as in English; intonation distinguishes question
14. NOUN-VERB AGREEMENT (Number)	93. sleeps 94. has ice cream	11 10	-No Creole structure for Noun-Verb Agreement -to produce in Creole, must use subject pronoun to differentiate singular and plural
15. DIRECT-INDIRECT OBJ.	95. She shows the girl the boy	8	-may be related to pronoun confusion or illustration
16. Complex imperative Sentence with conditional clause	99. If you're the teacher, point to the dog, If not, point to the bear.	8	-'ka' precedes the verb to indicate negation -complexity of sentences
-Complex imperative sentence using neither nor	100. Find the one that is neither the ball nor the table.	10	
-Compound imperative sentence	10. Look at the third picture then point to the baby of this animal.	10	

The Country:

Official Name: Republica de Cabo Verde (Republic of Cape Verde)

Independence: July 5, 1975

Population: 320,000

Per Capita Income: $270 (U.S. dollars)

Infant Mortality: 105 per 1000 live births (1975)

Life Expectancy: 45 years

Geographical Area: 1557 square miles of land

Source: The Boston Globe, Wednesday, September 23, 1983.

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